[291 cont.]
descent lines of the Middle Horde and chose to live much farther to the east than the former. Others withdrew to the mouth of the Syr[Darya], and after overthrowing the Karakalpaks, they chose Sultan Abulgazi Kaip as khan.

A third group attacked the Turkmen, and after forcing them to give up part of their lands, they occupied a large part of the isthmus which separates the Aral Sea from the Caspian Sea. Aichuvak himself and several sultans with [292] him were obliged to cross the Ural River to save their lives and to remain in Russia until this general fermentation was calmed.

Sultan Bukei, son of Nurali, who had had the place of president in the council of the khan, did the same, but he followed a different course. He lived near the border of the government of Astrakhan, and knowing that after the departure of the Kalmuks, many lands had remained deserted which were suitable for pasturage, he decided in 1799 to leave forever the steppes beyond the Ural River and to go over into the territory called Ryn Peski. Having decided thus and hoping to become an independent khan soon, Bukei addressed himself to General Knorring, the governor general of Georgia and Astrakhan, begging for permission to occupy the lands he had chosen between the Ural and the Volga and the freedom to transport there the Kazaks in his auls, while assigning him 100 Cossacks with their officers in order to maintain order.

It was impossible to neglect a proposal which was so advantageous and so useful. Governor Knorring brought it to the attention of Emperor Paul, who, by an ukase of March 11, 1801, commanded that it be put into execution.

Without losing time, Bukei prepared to move into Russia about the autumn of that same year. The Kazaks who followed him belonged mostly to the Baiulin descent line. There were few of the Alimul line and almost none from that of the Semirod. All of them together comprised about 10,000 tents. Once they had occupied the Ryn Peski, they promptly became a clear and striking demonstration of the effects of a peaceful life. While their compatriots beyond the Ural River, ruined and exhausted by their

[295 cont.]

[648] In 1793, Lieutenant General Strandman, commandant of the Siberian line, sent a body of troops into the Kazak steppes which liberated the Turkmen prisoners. Vali was so distressed at this loss that he complained to the Empress. The only satisfaction he received was the permission to come to St. Petersburg to explain all his needs and his requests, and he did not take advantage of this because he was afraid to leave the horde. Finally, after the death of his brother Chingis, he announced that all his complaints [662] had been made on the advice of his brother, and he reconciled himself with the local authorities and promised to help them in all matters.

This move, however, was not a proof of perfect devotion to Russia, for he wished to maintain his relations with China, following the example of his father, and to this end he sent his son to the emperor of China in the winter of 1794-95 to bear witness to his [643 661] submission. At the same time he continued to oppress the tribal chiefs, except those who were attached to Russia. The result of this behavior was that in January, 1795 two sultans, 19 elders, 43,360 of their subjects and 79,000 other Kazaks submitted a petition to the Empress asking to be delivered from Vali's rule and to be accepted under the direct dominion of the Russian government.

The execution of this demand was too difficult and promised no advantage to Russia. In the meantime Vali showed signs of repentance and raised the hope that he would become reconciled with the malcontents, and therefore things remained in their original state.

[619] The part of the horde which lived along the Verkhne-Uralsk line and had the Bashkirs for neighbors, as we said above, in 1795 gave the most [296] convincing proof of the truth of our reflections about the causes which made the Middle Horde more peaceful than [639 727] the Little Horde. At the time when the tribes and divisions of the Kazaks along the border were peacefully carrying on trade with the Russians on the Siberian line, it made several raids in the districts [727] of Chelyabinsk and Verkhne-Uralsk, laid waste several villages then, took many prisoners, and carried off quite a large number of

[301 cont.]

The Little Horde

631 619 611 At its time of origin the Little Horde was composed of the powerful Alchin descent line and of seven small tribes, which, during the [302] civil wars and reprisals (baranta (1)), were not

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1. Among the Kazaks, the name baranta is given to the raids they make against each other, most often as reprisals or as a consequence of hereditary vengeances.

strong enough to resist the Alchin descent line, which was more numerous, but were combined by the famous Tiavka, khan of the Kazaks, into a single descent line which is known today as that of the Seven Tribes (Semirod). The ancient name of Alchin is still found in Khan Abulkhair's correspondence with the Russian government in the first half of the last century. This descent line was composed of two stocks, called Alimuly, that is "the sons of Alim," and Baiuly, that is, "the rich sons." Later the new subdivisions which took place in this horde caused the generic name to fall into oblivion. But the names of the two stocks, to which the name of the descent line belonged equally, survived. For this reason the Little Horde is divided today into three principal parts, namely: I. The Alimuly descent line; II. The Baiuly descent line; III. The Djetir-urug descent line, or that of the Seven Tribes (Semirod).

1. The Alimuly descent line is composed of six tribes, whose names are Kara-Sakal, Kara-Kissiek, Kitie, Dört-Kara, Chumekei, and Chikly.

II. The Baiuly descent line is composed of the following 12 tribes: Adai, Djapas or Yapas, Alacha, Baibakty, Maskar, Bershch, Tazlar, Issentemir, Cherkes, Tana, Kizyl-Kurt, and Shikhlar.

III. The Seven Tribes (Semirod) descent line is composed of tribes which are called Tabyn, Tama, Kerdery, Djagal-Baiuly,

[302 cont.]

631 Kereit, Tiliau, Ramadan (2).

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2. Some sections of the Middle Horde camp with the Little Horde, and likewise [303] some sections of the Little Horde are mixed with the Middle Horde. This fact does not destroy the genealogy of the nation.

[303]

The Middle Horde

The Middle Horde is divided into four descent lines: I. The Argyn; II. The Naiman; III. The Kipchak; IV. The Uvak-Girei.

The latter, like the Seven Tribes descent line, was formed by that same Khan Tiavka out of three tribes which will be named below.

I. The tribes of the Argyn descent line are Kara-Kissiek, Karavul-Kissiek, Chardjitim, Djandjar, Chakchak, Dört-Avul, Atygai, Altai, Tebich, Tabakly, Borchi, Karpak, Bassantien, Agysh-Kalkaman, Kandjigali, Koziugan, and Kukshal.

II. The tribes of the Naiman descent line are Ak-Bura (1),

1. Ak-Bura means "white wolf."

Bulachi, Kara-Girei, Tirs-Tamgaly, Dört-Avul, Kuk-Djarly, Irginiekly, Semis-Baganaly (2), and Sadyr.

2. Semis-Baganaly means "those who have fat lambs."

III. The tribes of the Kipchak descent line are Tori-Aigyr, Tuiuchka, Kytabak, Bultun, Karabalyk, Kundelien, Tana-Buga, Uzun, Kuk-Boron.

IV. The Uvak-Girei descent line is made up of the tribes of Uvak, Girei or Kirei, and Tarakly.

[303 cont.]

The Great Horde

631 The Great Horde originally was composed of the Uisiun or
619 Usiun, Tulatai, and Sargam descent lines. Later the Konrat or
611 Kunrat descent line detached itself from the Middle Horde and joined the Great Horde.

From these first descent lines the following tribes issued: Botboi, Chimir, Djanis or Yanysh, Sik-Am, Abdai-Suvank, [304] Sary-Suly, Chanych-Kily, Kanly or Kankly, Djalair, etc.

II. The Konkhrat descent line formed the following tribes: Bailar-Djandjar, Uras-Geldy, Kuldjegach, Bochman, Tok-Bulat, Yaman-Bai, Kura-Kusia, Etimlier, Kuyush-Kansyz.

Each of the tribes is divided into sections. A section is composed of parts, and the latter also have their subdivisions, and all have different names. For example, the Maskar tribe of the Baiuly (in the Little Horde) descent line has two sections, namely: Kutlu-Gadam and Massak. The Kutlu-Gadam section is made up of two parts called Kurman and Baba-Nasar. The Kurman part has three subdivisions, which are Atamkan, Umier, and Kudaigul. The Baba-Nazar part has two subdivisions: Abdu-Shokur and Djidik.

What a volume the names of all these subdivisions for the three hordes would make! Without wearying the reader with such
761 an enumeration, it will suffice to say that the increase of popula-
178 tion among the Kazaks is constantly giving rise to new subdivisions, and that the original names of the descent lines will end up by being lost. In this manner, the Baiuly and Alimuly have ceased to bear their generic name of Alchin. It also develops from this that there are Kazaks who do not know what descent line they belong to and know only the name of their tribe and their section.

It can be concluded that in a hundred years most of the names of the Kazak branches which we have cited will no longer exist except in the Russian archives and in the memory of a few old men.

565 In addition, these subdivisions concern only the common
611 people. The upper class has another genealogy. This is why
643 the Kazaks divide themselves into two estates, the White bone

[305 cont.]

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Chapter III. Principal Camping Sites of the Kirghiz-Kazaks.

Although the descent lines and tribes of the Kazaks, who are constantly moving from one place to another, cannot have [306] fixed habitations just for this reason, nor can they possess lands, strictly speaking, still, in order to avoid disputes, each group stays as much as possible in the same camping places, especially during the winter. Only reasons of the greatest importance can make them go against this custom.

Their present camping sites are approximately in the following places:

The Little Horde

The Alimuly descent line always spends the winter on the Syr [Darya] River, the Kuvan, and on the dry bed of the Yany-Darya, as well as in the sands of Kara-Kum, Burzuk /Barsuki/, and at the mouth of the Emba. Only a small part [of this descent line] camps on the Ilek River, the Or, and the Ural, from the fort of Krasnogorsk to that of Verkhne-Ozernaya. Their summer camps are on the Temir, Emba, Sagiz, Uil, Ilek, Khobda, Or, and Irgiz rivers, in the Mugodzhar Hills, and in the sands of Kara-Kum.

The Baiuly tribes are Adai, Cherkes, Tana, Baibakty, Shikhlar, Maskar, Kizil-Kurt, Issen-Temir, part of the Djappas [233] tribe, and most of the Alacha, Tazlar, and Bershch tribes. All nomadize in the territory opposite the lower Ural River line and spend the summer between the Ural and the Emba, in the vicinity of the Karakul lakes and the Kuldagaity, Buldurty, Ulenty, Djusaly, Chungurlau, Ankaty, and Uilu rivers, as far as the Khobda. In winter they camp on the Caspian Sea, at the mouths of the Ural and the Emba, on the gulfs opposite Guryev, and some parts of the Adai tribe camp on Mangyshlak. The rest of the Tazlar, Alacha, and Bershch tribes are on the Syr [Darya], the Kuvan, and in the sands of Kara-Kum. Most of the Yappas camp in summer on the Tobol and the Turgai, opposite Troitsk, and in winter on the Syr [Darya] and the Kuvan.

[306 cont.]

101 361 221 619 [166 101] Moreover, as was said earlier, several parts of all the tribes of the Baiuly descent line (except for the Yappas tribe) crossed over in 1801 and 1802 [307] into the government of Astrakhan, under the leadership of Sultan Bukei. They camp in the district called Ryn Peski and form the horde there which is called the Bukei Horde.

The Djagal-Baily tribe, of the descent line of the Seven Tribes, spends the winter in the vicinity of the Irgiz, the Or, the Kumak, and the Sugunduk /Suunduk/ rivers, and the Karacha Mountains. It spends the summer near the Russian border, from the fort of Verkhne-Ozernaya to Verkhne-Uralsk, and extends south as far as the Irgiz.

The winter camps of the Kerder and Tama tribes are on the Ural River, from Orenburg to Uralsk, and their summer camps are on the Donguz, Khobda, Kanlys, and Ilek rivers.

Most of the Tabyn tribe camps near the two preceding tribes. Another part camps on the Tobol, Turgai, Syr [Darya], Kuvan, and Emba rivers.

The rest move with the Middle Horde along the shores of the Issel and Tsu, and the desert known as the Aremetei.

The Kereit tribe spends the winter along the Syr [Darya], and in summer it comes to the Irgiz River, the Karacha Mountains, and Troitsk.

The Tiliev or Tilieu and Ramadan tribes in winter live on the Syr [Darya] and the Kuvan, near the camps of the Kereits. In summer they go to the Turgai River and the vicinity of Lake Urkach-Kandykli.

The Middle Horde

The Argyn tribe moves about in the vicinity of the Ulug, Boyan-Ola, Ireimen, Kizyl, Kuyucha, and Mukcha mountains, and the districts of Urch-Burlyk, Kylchakty, Uch-Kundan, and Bikchentei, and the shores of the Turgai, Nura, Tobol, Irtysh, Sary-Su, Ishim, Issel, Ubagan, Ulkoyak, and Ayati rivers, as well as the sands of Kara-Tusun and the environs of the Kizyl, Kurzhan, Tiba, and Bish-Kun lakes.

Most of the Naiman tribe [sic] occupies the Tarbagatai Range, the upper sections of the Irtysh River, and several other

[307 cont.]
101 localities in the direction of the eastern borders of the [308]
361 Chinese empire. The rest of them occupy the upper parts of the
221 Ishim, a sector of the shores of the Turgai, Kara-Uziek, Syr
619 [Darya], Kuvan, Lap-Su, and Kuk-Su rivers, the vicinity of Lake
Ak, and the Ulug and Kichi mountains, etc.

The Kipchak descent line camps on the shores of the Issel, Turgai, Chakiek, Ubagan, Tobol, Ayat, Muyunli, and Uya rivers, opposite the forts of Troitsk, Stepnoi, and Ust-Uisk, and in the Kara-Kum desert, as well as in the districts of Aman-Karagay, Ebelei, Yedis, and Tiriekly.

The camps of the Uvak-Girei descent line are on the Ubagan, Ishim, Uya, Taguzak, Irtysh, Issel, Sary-Su, and Tsui or Chui rivers, as well as in the sands of Ich-Kungur, the vicinity of Lake Kechubay-Charkar, and opposite the part of the line between the forts of Stepnoi and Verkho-Uralsk, as well as opposite the forts of Zverinogolovskoye and Presnogorkovskoye.

The Great Horde

The tribes of which we have spoken camp on the Chui or Tsui, Tala-Su, Ili, Kuk-Su, Karatal, Chirchik, Syr [Darya], and Sara-Su rivers, in the vicinity of the lakes of Kara, Ala, Al-Su, and Anamas and the cities of Kuldja, Kashgar, Kukan /Kokand/, Tashkent, and Turkestan, and in the neighborhood of the Kara-Tau, Tarbagatai, and Chingiz-Tsazan [Chingis-Tau] mountains, as well as in the district called the Seven Rivers /Semirechie/. They are also in other regions near the Chinese border, in the old lands of the Dzungars. Some tribes live in the towns of Tashkent and Turkestan and in the near-by villages.

One part of the Kunkrat descent line moves about in these same areas, while another part camps with the Naimans.

[309] Chapter IV. Way of Life.

233 The Kazak way of life is a faithful image of that of the
181 patriarchs. The sight of a whole nation of shepherds, who live only, so to speak, for their flocks, the settlements or auls which

5: Levchine--188 G-4, 5 (ca. 1821) 1840 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

Tamghas Plate 8

or

212
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619

Marks Used by the Kirghiz-Kazaks
By way of Signatures and Seals

In the Little Horde

Descent Lines*	Marks or Stamps	Descent Lines	Marks or Stamps
Chikli		Mashkar	
Karakisiak		Tazlar	
Chumiakei		Cherkes	
Durt Kara		Tabyn	
Adai		Cama	
Djapas		Kerderi	
Alacha		Djagalbaiuli	
Berch		Kereit	

In the Middle Horde

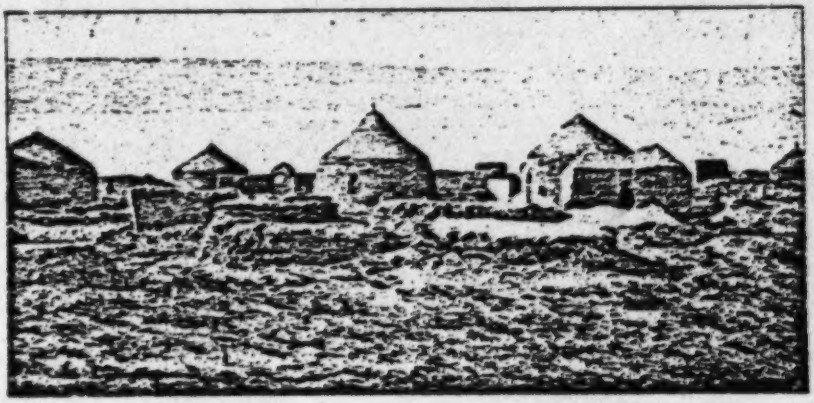
Keipchasky		Uvaksky	
Naimansky		Kireisky	

[*The following are tribes according to the text.--Ed.]

/143 cont./

101 175 After the death of Abulkhair in the third quarter of the 15th century, the customary struggle for power among the Genghisides grew stronger in his ulus. The nomads, who had always felt the animosity of their rulers, found it impossible to remain in the Uzbek Horde. Most of the Kypchak joined 619 the alliance of the Kirghiz-Kazak, increasing its number to 175 200,000. Under Kasym-khan (who died in the first quarter 643 of the 16th century), the son of Djanybek, the alliance of the 648 Kirghiz-Kazak, which added to itself /144/ the nomadic

764 614



A Kirghiz /Kazak/ cemetery of the Adoev /or Aday/ clan in Kara-Chungul.

175 643 648 619 peoples of the eastern half of the Chagatay ulus, numbered over a million persons. Kasym-khan, who united all the Kirghiz /Kazak/ people, had enormous military power at his disposal. Fortunately for his subjects, this last of the mighty khans was not numbered among the usual conquerors of Asia, and he acquired the love of his people by a policy of peace. When averting a proposal to make war, Kasym-khan said that "the Kazak, as a nomadic people, should think about winter camps and not about war." Kasym- 175 643 khan enjoyed unusual popularity among the people for his love of peace. After the death of Kasym-khan, the Kirghiz-Kazak alliance

175 643 631 /144 cont./ After the death of Kasym-khan, the Kirghiz-Kazak alliance broke up into smaller units. Each of its sultans tried to seize power, and the dissensions among them led to the ruin of the Kirghiz-Kazak alliance. Later, 200 years after the death of 175 619 631 Kasym-khan, the unifier of the Kirghiz-Kazak, his people again appeared on the scene of history in the form of three political unions, known by the names of Elder, Middle, and Younger Hordes. (1).

[101]

1. We consider it necessary to note that that the current names of the hordes as Great and Little characterize the hordes wholly incorrectly and also render the sense of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ words unfaithfully. Uly means elder, ancient, and not great in the sense of quantity (especially as this horde is smaller in number than the others). Kshi does not mean little (in sense of quantity), but younger.

618 175 619 63 614 [101] In the first quarter of the 18th century "there arose the designations of: the southeastern Kazak clans of the Dulat and Kangly as the Elder (uly) Horde, being the most ancient Turkic tribes occupying the lands of the Kazak alliance; the Kypchak, Argyn, Naiman, and Kerei as the Middle (orta) Horde, being the later comers; and the tribe of the Alchin and the clans separated from the tribes of the horde as the Younger (kshi) Horde" (Aristov). At this time all three hordes, who had been pushed from their southeastern lands by the Kalmyk, were wandering in the basins of the Ishim, Nura, and Sary-Su rivers. In 1723 the Dzungarian ruler, Galdan-Tsyren, conquered the clans of the Elder and Middle Hordes. The invasion by the Dzungarians and the Kalmyk forced the Kirghiz /Kazak/ hordes to move west to the Aral and Caspian seas and north to the upper courses of the Ishim, Ural and Tobol rivers. The Younger and Middle

175 /144 cont./ the Younger and Middle
648 Hordes, pushed by their enemies from the south to the so-
619 called Gor'kaya line, were obliged to recognize Russian sov-
631 ereignty. The relations of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ to their sultans and khans were free. They recognized their authority as long as their interests coincided with the views of the autonomously
175 ruling clans. In 1730, Sultan Abulkhair of the Younger Horde
643 asked the Russian government to accept his people as subjects.
648 He did this partly because he feared an invasion of his lands
619 by Galdan-Tsyren, and partly with the intention of strengthen-
614 ing his power, which was tottering because of the enmity be-
631 tween the sultans. In the 18th century the sultans Ablai /or Ablay/, AbulMambet and Barak of the Elder and Middle hordes became the rulers of the people by utilizing their good will. Ablai, the most populat of the khans named by the Kirghiz /Kazak/, carefully avoided subjecting the Kirghiz /Kazak/ to a foreign power. Some of the clans of the Middle Horde accepted Russian sovereignty under the son of khan Ablai in 1782, and under Bukei /or Bukey/ Khan, the sons of Barak, at the end of the 18th century. Certain clans of the Elder Horde accepted Russian sovereignty in the 19th century in the person of their sultan Syuk-Ablaikhanov. Later, by the third quarter of this century all the Kirghiz /Kazak/ clans had gradually recognized Russian rule except the Naiman and Kerei. /145/ These, after the annihilation of the Dzunguarian kingdom by the Chinese in the third quarter of the 18th century left the present Akmolinsk oblast to go to their old lands on the Tarbagatai and Black Irtysh, and from there into China.

175 The Kirghiz /Kazak/, who had never known a sovereign
648 power, which would have been unfeasible in the free steppe, where from time immemorial the traditional form of power had been concentrated in the hands of an autonomously ruling clan and its leaders, became part of the population of the steppe oblasts in the 19th century. Although they had acknowledged their dependence on the Russian government, the Kirghiz /Kazak/ did not reconcile themselves to this position at once, and even attempted to reestablish their independence later,

RQ2 Kazak RQ2 Kalmyk AH5
Prehistoric Turkestan RL3

KK 175 631 648 /147 cont./ himself as dependent upon China after that, however, Amursana took advantage of the trust of the Chinese and attacked them suddenly and laid waste the nearest provinces (Hami). The indignant emperor declared war without quarter against the Dzungarians. Chinese armies entered Dzungaria several times, only to be met with defeat. In fact Amursana was finally beaten only in 1756, when he fled to Siberia to the Russians. The Chinese went through all of Dzungaria "with fire and sword" destroying almost the entire population without quarter (up to one million persons), paying no attention to sex or age. This was no conquest, but the extermination of a nation, individual by individual. And in truth, from this time on the Dzungarian kingdom completely disappeared from the scene of history. Only a few thousand people of the western Oliut /or Olyut/ tribes escaped, managing to flee to the Kalmyk hordes on the Volga.

KK [167]

With the destruction of the Dzungarian empire, in the southern strip of the present Kirghiz krai, there remained the Kirghiz-Kazak (the Elder, Middle, and Younger hordes), some of whom recognized Russian authority and some of whom went over to the Chinese. By the beginning of the 19th century, as we have seen, most of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ recognized the authority of the Russians and remained to wander in the southern part of our region (where they are still wandering to this day).

K 175 648 [619] [167]

Such, in brief, is the political history of the nomadic peoples of the Kirghiz krai.

Clearly the Kirghiz krai has not ceased to be the arena of important historic events from the most ancient times to the end of the 19th century. Primitive tribes appeared here and passed through the first stages of their cultural development (the stone and copper stages). Dozens of peoples of Central, Inner, and Eastern Asia moved through here, for which reason the southern plains of the region are even known as the "historical gates of peoples." The various monuments found here in the region are mute evidence of the events which have taken place here in various epochs. We have already seen the

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/199 cont./

000 most important and oldest Turkic tribes. Along with the
142 typical features of the Turks, one can also observe in certain
144 tribes among the Kirghiz /Kazak/ a great deal of crossbreeding with the ancient inhabitants of the region (non-Turks) and with the Mongols.

First we shall examine the ethnic composition of the
101 Kirghiz-Kazak constituting the Middle and Little (Younger)
• 619 Hordes in our region.
614

/200/ The great mass belongs to the Middle Horde. Within it there are several tribes, of which the most important (counting from the east) are the Kirei /or Kirey, Kerei, Kerey/, Naiman, Argyn, and Kipchak. They occupy the Semipalatinsk and Akmolinsk oblasts and part of the Semirechye, Syr-Darya, and Turgai oblasts. The Kirei are in the region of the Black Irtysh river. They are made up of many clans (the Sarybas, Djadyk /Dzhadyk/, Chireuchi, Djanastaban /Dzhastaban/, Djantykey /Dzhantykei/, Iteli, Karakas, Mulku, Chubar-Aigyr /or Chubar-Aygyr/, Itengem, Chimoin, Merkiz, Kursaty, and others). The origin of the Kirei, like that of other Turkic tribes, has not been definitely established. There is no doubt that they stem from a mixture of Turkic peoples with the ancient inhabitants of the region (Usun'?). The Naiman wander along the Tarbagatai near Lake Balkhash and Ulu-Tau. Their clans include the Bura-Naiman, Semiz-Naiman, Ak-Naiman, Sary-Djumart /Sary-Dzhumart/, Kokdjarly /Kokdzharly/, Bagonaly, Kozhembet, Murun, and others. In the opinion of several ethnologists (Aristov), the Naiman are composed of the ancient Naiman clans. The Argyn tribe has been formed from an alliance of many clans: the Basentein, Atagai /Atagay/, Kandjigly /Kandzhigly/, Tobukly, Chakchan, Altai, Karpyk, Kalkaman, Aidobyl' /or Aydobyl'/ (Suyunotyk), Kozgan, Tuki, and others, and a special tribe of the Kara-Kisiak /or Kara-Kisyak/. They wander along the middle course of the Irtysh, on the Ishim, the upper course of the Tobol River, and along the Ural River. The alliance of clans existed before the appearance

/200 cont./

101 of the Genghisides in the region. The Kipchak tribe includes
619 the Tanabuga, Karabalyk, Turaigyr /or Turaygyr/, Uzun',
614 Kundelen, Bultuk, Kökbörön, Tuyuchka, Kytabak, and other clans. These clans live within the Turgai oblast and in part in the Orenburg guberniya. At one time the Kipchak constituted a large and powerful tribe, but from the 12th century a large number of those in the west split off and became part of the Kazan, Volga and Crimean Tatars, the Bashkir, and the Nogai, while some went to the southeast and constituted the main body of the Uzbeks of Fergana, Khiva, and the Zeravshan region. Also belonging to the Middle Horde is the small tribe of the Baydjigit /or Baidzhigit/ and the Uvan-Girei /or Uvan-Girey/ tribe, remainders of former alliances, who live in the Zaisan oblast.

The Little Horde was formed from the Alchin tribe, which included the Korasakal, Durtkara /or Dyurtkara, Diutkara/, Chikli, Kizia /or Kizya/, Karakisian /or Karakisyan/, Chumekei /or Chumekey/ clans, and two alliances: the Baiuly /or Bayuly/ and the Djityru /or Dzhityru/. The former was formed from the Adai /or Aday/, Djaynas /Dzhainas/, Alacha, Baibakty /Baybakty/, Maskar, Berch, Tazlar, Isentemir, Cherkes, Taka, Kizyl-Kurt, Sheikhlar /Sheykhlar/, Altyn, and Isyk clans. The second was made up of the Tabyk, Tama, Kerderi, Djagalbayly /Dzhagalbaily/, Kireiz, Tleu, and Ramodan clans. These clans wander within the Ural oblast, and in part in the Turgai and Syr-Darya oblasts and the Orenburg and Astrakhan guberniyas. In the opinion of ethnologists, the basic Alchin tribe was a mixture of Turks with ancient Dinlin and Finno-Ugric tribes. In general the entire Little (Younger) Horde constitutes a more colorful ethnic group than the Middle or the Elder Hordes.

The Bukey /Bukeev/ or Inner Horde split off from the Little Horde in 1801 beyond the Ural River (within the present Astrakhan guverniya) after the Torgout fled from there. This horde is made up of almost the same clans as the Little Horde.

/200 cont./

101 619 Thus in the Kirghiz-Kazak (Kaisak) people as a whole one can distinguish the following main and fundamental Turkic tribes: the Kangly and the Dulat (the river Chu) in the Great (Elder) Horde; the Kipchak, Argyn, Naiman, and Kirei in the Middle Horde, and the Alchin in the Little Horde.

/201/ The physical type of these tribes can be considered characteristic of the Turks of our region, but it would be impossible to bring all the Kirghiz-Kazak tribes in the region together under this type. It is evident from the clans and tribes listed above (among whom some are descended from Mongols or the Usun' and other ancient peoples) what a complex and colorful conglomeration the Kirghiz-Kazak are, and consequently it is unthinkable to speak of them as a whole in the ethnological and physical anthropological senses. The unity here is more political, based on the relatedness of language, customs, and beliefs, and is involuntarily created by the steppe -- that arena of life of all the nomadic peoples. The steppe has not only united all the Kirghiz-Kazak tribes, but has also had a leveling influence, giving all the varied tribes a more or less uniform character. /Illustration appears here./

101 619 142 144

128 141 In the description below of the physical type of the Kirghiz-Kazak, the statistics given for the specific tribes simply cannot be generalized for all the Kirghiz-Kazak in the region.

141 The stature of the native Turks is considered to be higher than average. The figures for the individual nationalities are as follows (from Kharuzin). For the Kirghiz /Kazak/ of the Bukey Horde it is 1,629 millimeters, and for the Little Horde 1,669 millimeters. For the Kirghiz /Kazak/ of the Middle Horde it is 1,647 millimeters, within which the clan of the Murun has a height of 1,611 millimeters, the Naiman 1,626 millimeters, the Baydjigit 1,643 millimeters, and the Kirei 1,685 millimeters. Thus, along with heights above average (1,650-1,700 mm.) there are tribes with heights below average (1,600-1,650 mm.). The average height of the Kirghiz-Kazak is deduced to be 1,646.5 millimeters. The head measurement of the Kirghiz /Kazak/

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Chapter 3

SOCIETY

PATTERN OF KAZAKH SOCIETY

61 The traditional social organization of the Kazakhs is founded on a series of genealogies. These genealogies, transmitted orally from father to son, are carefully traced, and mount generation by generation to the founding ancestor of the lineage. In these lineages and throughout Kazakh society, descent is traced only in the male line from a common ancestor. A number of lineages comprise a clan, all of whose members trace descent from a common ancestor. Still wider groups of Kazakhs are embraced by a common descent line into confederations of clans comprising the hordes of the Kazakhs, the Great Horde, the Middle Horde, the Little Horde, and the Inner or Bukei Horde.[1]

611 The kinship bonds of blood and descent extend only to those related on the father's side; kinship through the mother's side is carefully distinguished from it. By far the most important relationships are those with the father's kin, although a certain amount of respect is due to the mother's relatives. The social structure which will now be analyzed is that of the kin related in the paternal line.

● 619 614 In its purest form, the Kazakh social structure is formed of a series of concentric rings. The largest ring, which encompasses the entire Kazakh people, comprises the system of hordes, which are in turn composed of clans; the hordes are confederations of clans traditionally unified under a leader or khan. In the distant past, all Kazakhs were united in one horde, under a great khan, but this tradition is now only a weak memory which has not evoked strong feelings of Kazakh unity for many centuries. On the other hand, the hordes which emerged from the breakup of Kazakh solidarity in the 16th century continued to play a social role well into the 19th century, and the Kazakh knows his horde and clan affiliation to this day. Both clans and hordes had a firm authority pattern; each horde had a khan, and at the head of each clan ruled a chief or beg.

61 631 Kazakh clans in their turn are composed of lineages, the lineages of kin villages, and the kin villages of families. All the units of Kazakh society are territorial units; the distribution of the hordes over the steppe has already been described. Within these hordes of the past,

[1] See Chapter 1, Regional History and Socio-cultural Setting.

171 one should remember that the paternal authority of the Chinese, the Japanese, or the Romans is a model for the imperial authority only by analogy, as a manner of speaking. The Confucian admonition to regard the emperor as a father is not taken literally. The Chinese imperial authority pattern is derived from other sources than the paternal role; [602] so is the Kazakh. But Kazakh society as a whole is more steeped in the kinship relation, and hence authority in general is modeled on the paternal to a greater degree than in the other patrilineal societies mentioned.

649 538 Age is the underlying basis of authority in the Kazakh social system, since the old men are the fathers.[1] Paradoxically, traditional Kazakh literature, both oral and written, deals mostly with young heroes. These youths are praised for their daring, strength, cleverness; they defy enemies both human and supernatural. But the hero is typically a [428] younger prince who gains a kingdom in defiance of the law of primogeniture by subduing or outwitting his older brother; the young prince never defies the older generation. The father and elders generally support the elder brother, but they do not actively suppress the younger. In contrast, Kazakh literature of the Soviet era depicts youth defying or combatting his elders.

KAZAKH SOCIETY AND THE PARTY LINE

171 565 Throughout the history of western society, the social classes have been distinguished by differences in birth; the nobility carefully separated themselves from the taint of common blood in medieval Europe, in Renaissance societies, and in modern times. The Kazakh society—and the Mongol or Uzbek for that matter—is anomalous because it maintains class distinctions of aristocrat and commoner while affirming [619] a general relatedness through descent from a single ancestor. There are even fictional genealogies which unite all steppe nomads.

554 These relatively simple anomalies have caused a dilemma in Soviet publications on the nature of Kazakh society. There is social differentiation not only by birth and descent, but also by wealth. In Kazakh society, [177] the two bases of social inequality were more or less coordinate until the victory of Sovietization. The clan leader was superior to his fellow [200] clansmen by right of birth; the village leader was superior to his fellow villagers by right of birth; both were also richer than the other clansmen or villagers. By right of precedence they allocated the best pasture lands to themselves and decided all judicial questions in their own favor. Both wealth and social influence were based on the number of kinsmen [602] who would support a man at a council, or before the law, or in a fight, a feud, or a war. A man of eminent birth and of wealth could get more kinsmen to support him than could a Kazakh with neither. This might seem anomalous, since theoretically a Kazakh is related to all other Kazakhs, and kinsmen help each other. But kinsmen help closer kinsmen before they help distant kin; and kinsmen help superior, influential kinsmen before they help inferior kinsmen who are lacking in influence.

[1] Aristov, 1896, pp. 394-395.

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The Kazakh Nation

and its tribal organization

1) The Great Horde (Ulu-jüz)
   a) Tribe Uissün with the clans:
      - Sikhym
      - Jamys
      - Tümir
      - Shymyr
      - Botpai
      - Kurulus
      - Büsh tün bala (the five equal children)
      - Sirgüli
      - Ysty
      - Otakshy
      - Jalair
      - Shapas
      - Kangly

2) The Middle Horde (Orta-jüz)
   a) Tribe Argyn with the clans:
      - Kara kesük
      - Shar Jitim
      - Janshar
      - Tört aul with aa) Atygai
        bb) Altai
        cc) Terbish
        dd) Tabakty
      - Borshy
      - Karpak
      - Basüntin
      - Agysh Kalkanam
      - Kanjygaly
      - Kosugan
      - Kök shal

   b) Tribe Naiman with the clans:
      - Bulatty
      - Türs tamgaly
      - Baganaly
      - Sadyr
      - Ergünükti

   c) Tribe Kypchak

   d) Tribe Kirüi with three sub-tribes:
      1) Abak-Kurüi with the clans:
         - Jantykai
         - Jadyk
         - Shirüushi

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/The Kazakh Nation/

Itäli
Karakas
Mulku
Shubar aigyr
Mürkit
Itäingmän
Jüs taban
Sary bas
Shimoyin

2) Kara-Kiräi with the clans:
Murun
Bai Jigit
Tört aul

3) Tarakty

e) Tribe Kongrat with the two sub-tribes
1) alty ata kökting uly (the six sons of father Kök)
2) alty ata köktöngshü (six fathers Köktönshü)

3) The Little Horde (Kishi-jüz)
a) Tribe Alshyn with two sub-tribes:
1) Alim ulu with the clans:
Kara sakal
Kara kisäk
Kitäi
Tört kara
Shümököi
Shikti

2) Bai-ulu with the clans:
Adai
Sherkäs
Tana
Bai-bakty
Maskar
Kysyk-kurt
Isän-tämir
Jappas
Alasha
Tastar

b) Tribe Jäti uru (the seven confederated tribes) with the clans:
Jagalbaily
Käptäi
Tama
Tabyn
Keräit
Telägü
Ramadan

Note: The Kazakh of Sinkiang belong mostly to clans of the Great Horde

161 taking techniques were applied. In a more general way, we may derive a rate of net increase of 100 percent per century, which is not unthinkable; nevertheless it must be noted that there is a vast disparity between the accuracy of the 19th century figures prior to the 1897 census, and those of the 1897 and 1926 censuses.

619 The Kazakhs have been divided into three hordes or
175 chief administrative-political units which have been in-
642 dependent of each other since the beginning of the 18th century; these are known as the Great Horde, the Middle Horde and the Little Horde. At the beginning of the 19th century, after the flight of the Kalmuks from the Volga steppes to western China, the territory left free to the east of the Volga was given into the hands of Khan Bukei of the Little Horde. In making this move, under the protection of the Russian government, Khan Bukei formed the Bukei or Inner horde. Thus, during the 19th century there were effectively four hordes of the Kazakhs. The move by Bukei took place during the years 1801-1802,
167 and his followers numbered about 7000 tents.[42] There is evidence of considerable movement in the western steppe in this period, since it is also reported that shortly before some 3200 tents or families of the Kazakhs had submitted to the Russians by crossing the Irtysh and settling there.[43] Again, many of those who had followed

[42]Levshine, 299-300.

[43]Kostenko, 30.

167 that motivation to migrate in one case is ascribed to the fear of being forced to settle down.

Kazakh Clan and Lineage: General Considerations

• 619 It will be recalled that during the 16th and 17th centuries, the Kazakhs were united into one nation, with relatively well-recognized boundaries, under a single ruler. Even though the three component hordes had already been formed during this period, their separation in fact took place only in the 18th century. The resulting triple division was not fixed and permanent. First we note the separation again of the Inner Horde. Again, various tribes and clans were continually leaving and re-joining different hordes. According to Valikhanov, the Little Horde itself was formed by splitting off from the others (probably during the 16th century). Thus according to local tradition, the Great and the Middle hordes are the senior divisions.[45] This tradition supplies us with a datum regarding the over-all dual organization of the steppe societies.

619 167 Again there was much internal movement, as an instance of which the following may be cited: elements of the Kangly, Chaichkly, and Kereit clans of the Great Horde separated from that horde in the 17th century, and nomadized together with the Kongrad clan of the Middle

[45] Valikhanov, 290.

619 167 hordes down through the 19th century.[46] The process of combination and recombination was not restricted to movements inside the Kazakh hordes, they also combined with non-Kazakh Turkic groups of the steppe, but the pattern was different. The clans were groups which usually bore the name of an eponymous ancestor, or recreated the name of an illustrious Turkic or Mongol group of the past days of glory. In both instances, whether through reference to an individual (mythical or actual) or to a group, the consciousness of unity over the course of history, and the affirmation of the unity of that history was asserted. In this way an unmistakable symbol was given to a Turkic clan or people, and its unity, real or fictive, mythological or historical, was established by tradition. Certain names, primarily the most glorious, recur again and again, among the Uzbeks, Kazakhs, Karakalpaks, and so forth, which formed a small reservoir continually tapped. Clans bearing common names recognize an affinity with each other regardless of whether they belong to the same Turkic nation now or not.

619 The relationship established by bearing the name of a common ancestor, or of a previous group of common descent, was a weak one, but was related to certain rights of admission or combination with the distant

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[46] Ibid., 286.

619 kinsmen. Thus, for example, a clan of the Great Horde, the Kereit, separated from the Kazakh federation and joined an Uzbek group which bore the name of Kereit. A small portion later returned to the Kazakhs, but this time established itself in the Little Horde. Those who made the move to join the Little Horde were thereupon given a fictive genealogy tracing descent from the eponymous founder of the Karaket clan in the Little Horde.[47]

619 563 Movement in a contrary sense, that of Turkic non-Kazakhs into the Kazakh society, also is recorded, and embodies the identical features. Thus a certain group of the Karakirgiz joined the Atygai clan of the Middle Horde, gradually merged with it, and became a lineage of that clan. In order to obtain the genealogical right to membership in that clan, the newcomers now traced their ancestry back to one of the twelve sons of a certain Daut, who was the clan-founder of the Atygai.[48] The author of this record was a native Kazakh, in the Russian service in the 19th century, and set down his traditions with care. Noteworthy is the fact that the concept of the genealogical right to membership is his formulation, and no one else's.

619 The clans had either eponymous founder-names, or

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[47] Ibid., 291.

[48] Idem.

619 they had names which harked back to the Chingisside era. Valikhanov draws an important implication from this: inasmuch as membership in any horde was based on ancestry, the union as a whole has a genealogical significance. The instances of Chingisside ancestry are not of the same order as the indigenous ones, therefore,[49] for they are properly speaking fictitious.

619 428 643 829 The direct patrilineal descendants of the Kazakh nobility who brought the original confederation to life are located by Kazakh tradition in the Little Horde.[50] We know that the Little Horde was not an original founding member of the confederation of hordes, but was rather the junior member. So reads the Kazakh tradition reported by Valikhanov, and which must be accepted as a primary datum. Therefore the location of the original founder of the entire Kazakh confederation in the Little Horde depends on the application of another principle to regularize or legitimize the rank order of the Little Horde among the other hordes. The legitimizing principle according to which they sought to align the objective historical reality known to at least some Kazakhs is that of ultimogeniture. The Mongol law, according to Valikhanov, was still regarded as being in force through

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[49] Idem.

[50] Ibid., 292.

619 428 643 829 transmission via Khan Tiavka (c. 1700). This law decreed that the right of succession to the father's status and to his residuary possessions, went to the youngest son or to the youngest male family member; so Valikhanov claimed.[51] N.B.: we are in possession both of the Mongol law code--the Great Yassa of Chingis Khan--and of the code transmitted by Khan Tiavka. The provisions of these codes relative to the inheritance of the father's seniority in no way corresponds to the version given here by Valikhanov. On the contrary, while the principle of ultimogeniture applied to the residual corporeal properties of the father and a special title, not that of the father, the youngest son did not inherit his offices, rank, titles, social position, and other incorporeal properties.[52] But the important thing 619 643 829 is not the actual facts, namely the content of the codes and decrees, but what the 19th century Kazakh believed them to be; what he chose to make of them in the interests of establishing a social order, a ranking of the hordes, corresponding to other considerations. And in order to legitimize the realization of those other considerations, by assigning the priority to the founders of the Little Horde, a double fiction was applied. First,

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[51] Idem.

[52] Riasanovsky, Customary Laws, 7 ff; ibid., Fundamental Principles, 83 ff.

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619 43 829

there is the fiction that the Little Horde was the senior horde by virtue of the direct patrilineal descent of its nobility from the original Kazakh nobility. Second, there is the fiction of ultimogeniture, which, as a principle for the establishment of seniority, was imputed to law codes despite the fact that the principle in this form is nonexistent.

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The clans which composed the hordes were common descent groups, whose structure was analogous to the corporation.[53] The clan's charter of incorporation is the genealogy, which may be real or fictive, that is, assigned to newcomers added to the clan, i.e., to one of its composite lineages. These genealogies were handed down by oral tradition and formed part of a larger set of oral traditions embodying the myths which gave expression to the unity of the group. It is not to be expected that these oral traditions would have the accuracy of written history. Quite the contrary, they might vary in every detail from each other as reported by two different Kazakhs, and this would still not alter in the least their validity as genealogies, for these genealogies

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[53] Here I have in mind Fortes' exposition of the corporate character of the lineage, which I am in turn applying to the clan, for the same principles are at work: the corporation is a person; the corporation never dies (Henry Maine); it has rules of membership and admission to membership (Weber); and it has a center of authority (Weber). The last criterion is more applicable to the clan than the lineage. Fortes, Structure of Unilineal Descent Groups, 17-41.

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173 are first of all clan myths which make no claim to objective historical reference.

619 As an instance of this, portions of two Kazakh gene-
173 alogies which purport to give the ancestry of a famous
643 Kazakh Khan, Abul Hafr, who led a portion of the Little Horde over to the Russians in 1730, follow. The two genealogies are simply ten generations cut out of much longer ones; the genealogy given in the left column was composed by a local Kazakh official named Dikambai-batyr in the 1870's;[54] that in the right column was taken down from the oral report of another Kazakh, Alikhan Bukeikhan, fifty years later, in the 1920's.[55]

I	Kerim	I	Urus (1361-1376)
II	Tuigash	II	Kui-Ruchuk (1396)
III	Kurenbai	III	Barak
IV	Djalyntus	IV	Djanibek
V	Bab-kasym	V	Usak
VI	Er-bulantai	VI	Bula-kai-kuyan
VII	Sabaz-batyr	VII	Ai-Chuwak
VIII	Er-djomart	VIII	Irysh
IX	Alpyspek	IX	Adja
X	Abul-Hafr	X	Abul-Hafr (1730)

[54] Aristov, Opyt Vyiasneniia, 394-395, note 2.

[55] Chuloshnikov, appended genealogy.

1/1 [i.e. the validity of contradictory genealogies; Cf. Cat. 619, p. 389 -- Analyst]

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The two genealogies were collected fifty years apart and in different parts of the steppe. They give the ancestry of the famous khan, but one who had lived a century and a half and two centuries respectively before the two genealogies were taken down. Nevertheless, it is interesting that these two tables differ entirely in detail with the possible exception of the names in the fourth ascending generation, Er-bulantay and Bula-kay-kuyan. The earlier genealogy is interesting for its slight Koranic cast: The ten generations listed by Aristov are but a segment of a genealogy which descends fifty-four generations from Adam to Abul-Hafr. Adam's descendants in the eleventh and twelfth generations are Noah (Nuh) and Japhet (Yapys). Abraham and Isaac are also listed, but few other particulars correspond; for example, Ishmael is not named.[56] The genealogy given by Chuloshnikov, on the contrary, mounts nineteen generations to Chingis Khan, and has no trace of the Koran or Islam. Most of the people mentioned are actual historical figures whose dates are ascertainable, and there is reason to believe that Chuloshnikov improved upon the original by reference to historical works.

The genealogy recorded by Aristov is an actual one, that of the head of the Botpay clan of the Great Horde during the last third of the 19th century. The prestige

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[56] Aristov, op. cit., 394.

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of Abul-Haĭr was so great that according to this genealogy he was magnified as the founder and head of all three hordes, and his line was reckoned through fourteen generations to Botpay, the head of a clan in the 19th century. Abul-Haĭr becomes a mythical figure in this genealogical account, although he is a known historical personage; we know, in fact, he was not the founder of the Kazakh hordes. Similarly, he is known to have flourished around the year 1730, and is not separated by fourteen generations from the Kazakhs of the 1860's, for this would imply an average of 9.3 years per generation. There is another interesting feature of the genealogy of Botpay: the descent line of that clan head is traced through the generations in direct senior patrilineal succession from Abul-Haĭr, making the head of the Botpay clan junior to no one, whether in the Great Horde or among the Kazakhs generally.[57] Compare this with the version given by Valikhanov, wherein seniority is assigned to the Little Horde, but on an entirely different principle: in the account of Dikambay-batyr in the 1870's, the validation of the Botpay claim to seniority is based upon a genealogy of a line of eldest sons; on the contrary, Valikhanov's claim to validation is based upon a principle of ultimogeniture. Because of the exigencies of the inheritance and succession

[57] Ibid., 395-396.

619 173 643 pattern, both claims were possible in the 19th century. But because of the exigencies of history, specifically, the disunity and lack of rapport among the various segments of Kazakh society, the contradictory claims could never be settled, or even brought face to face.

619 181 173 This very lack of agreement, however, is indicative of a point whose significance cannot be stressed too greatly. These genealogies are not objective history; they serve a quite different end: among the Kazakhs, a learned man or a leader, or a combination of the two, expounded their genealogy to his people, which supplied them with the expression of their mutual relatedness and their existence as a group. If this genealogy is accepted by neighboring clans and related in turn to their own, then the members of all the clans involved have a point of departure in establishing inter-clan relations, involving rights of precedence, recognition of the degree of seniority and attendant prestige, and so forth. Moreover, the fact of acceptance of a clan's genealogy by related clans means the implied acceptance of an even greater genealogy which integrates and helps to form the greater unity among a number of clans. The genealogy is a charter which is expansive and contractive, depending on the demands made of it, the size of the groups, and the degree of consanguineal distance between the groups. And it is the charter whereby groups incorporate themselves into smaller or larger

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173 social bodies.

These are groups in which the oral tradition predominates. The learned elder who expounds their genealogy to his followers and kinsmen has not invented it; he learned it from his father, who learned it from his. The oral tradition is the means whereby the genealogy is transmitted; the oral tradition is the larger genre, the repository of the integrative forces of Kazakh--and Mongol and Turkic--social life generally. The oral tradition includes more than the genealogy alone; it includes, for example, the folk-epic of the Turks and the Mongols. In order to understand what the oral tradition, genealogical and folk-epic, is, one might look to see where it is not: it does not exist among the Chinese. Chinese society has other means than that of the Altaic-speakers of the steppe whereby it has established its existence as such.

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121 The numerical strength of the Botpay clan was a total of 2465 tents or families, or a total of some 10,000 individuals. It was formed of two major or maximal lineages, the Kudaykul, totalling 743 tents, and the Chagatay, totalling 1722 tents. The Kudaykul was in turn composed of three sub-lineages, the Bish-Imsuk, 315 tents; the Alym-Djanys, 221 tents; and the Siirchi, 207 tents. The Chagatay was composed of six minor or sub-lineages: the Isenbay, 275 tents; the Djankoilyk, 330 tents; the Asan-Taylak, 537 tents; the Akcha-Kodjay,

385 tents; the Biidas, 80 tents; and the Kuralash, 115 tents.[58] The total configuration is more or less the same as that of another clan of the Great Horde, the Seikym clan, which was composed of four major lineages ranging in size from 150 to 625 families.[59] Both the Botpay and the Seikym inhabited the easternmost portion of the steppe of the Great Horde, in the region of the Ala-Tau mountains, close to the Chinese border, and they formed two of the four clans which together comprised the Dulat division of the Great Horde.[60]

Under normal conditions, such were the limits within which lineage size and clan size tended to vary. Some twenty to thirty years later, after the conquest of the region by the Russians under General Kaufman, a marked tendency to increase the size of the basic group set in. Radlov records figures for the administrative units that now replaced the clans, which although corresponding roughly with them, are in some instances significantly greater. In size, the clans of the Great Horde were now distributed as follows: eight of them contained between 330 and 890 families; twelve comprised between 1050 and 3500 families; three were between 5350 and 12,000 families (or tents) strong.[61] In the inter-

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[58] Ibid., 395.

[59] Ibid., 396.

[60] Semenov-Tian-Shanskii, 368.

[61] Radloff, Aus Sibirien, I, 238-240.

619 178 241 In the inter-
vening decades,[1] the Russians had set up a system of ad-
ministrative divisions which reorganized to some extent
the pattern of life of the Kazakhs. Moreover, at this
time there was some increase in agriculture among them.
As of the turn of the century there was an acceleration
in the development of farming among them, and a tendency
to turn from a nomadic to a settled life.[62]

Clan and Lineage of the Great Horde in the 19th Century

101 619 The Great Horde was situated farthest from European
Russia, occupying the steppe between the Ala-Tau Moun-
tains and the Syr-Darya River, to the south of Lake
Balkash, and extending into Chinese Turkestan as well.

[62] Semenov-Tian-Shanskii, 378. "Some of the Kirgiz
178 241 have taken up agriculture, raising grain in their win-
ter quarters on artificially irrigated land. This ten-
dency has undergone in recent times a greater and greater
development, effecting the transformation of the Kazakhs
into a settled life, turning them from nomadic pastoral-
ists into settled farmers." This was written in 1915,
and relates to the preceding decades. In the 1920's the
Kazakhs still retained considerable pastoralism, but had
transferred to a major extent to a mixed pastoral-
agricultural economy or had gone over entirely to agri-
culture. Cf. Sakharov; Kharuzin, Bukeev Orda, Column 47.
The process of transformation as indicated by the above
sources is only an incomplete one. Kazakhs for centuries
had been making a transition from pastoralism to agri-
culture, but in doing so had ceased to be Kazakhs. They
joined instead agricultural Turkic communities, such as
the Uzbek. The very process of change from herding to
farming at the end of the 19th century had itself changed
through the rise of indigenous agriculture undertaken by
the Kazakhs without their giving up their identity as
such in making the transition. Cf. Radloff, Aus Sibirien,
I, 222-230.

[1] [i.e. after the Russian conquest -- Analyst]

[Great Horde]

000 Balkhash, and extending into Chinese Turkestan as well.
161 Its territory was the greatest of the hordes, but its population was the smallest of all the hordes during the 19th century.[63] Their total number is estimated at about 110,000 families, or about 440,000 individuals in the past third of the 19th century.[64]

616 In the structure of the Great Horde there are traces
619 of a dual organization, the division of the horde into an eastern wing and a western. The eastern wing was in turn divided into two subdivisions, which were together comprised of seven clans. The western wing was further subdivided directly into ten clans.[65] It would be difficult to justify the term moiety in connection with the two wings, and the more neutral theoretical concept of dual organization, only traces of which are detectable, will be used. In his analysis of the moiety, Lowie attributes the functioning of the principle of exogamy to this unit.[66] However, a more important reason for the choice of the neutral term dual organization is the lack of distinctive functions of the two great divisions. Dichotomies within the steppe society occur sporadically,

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[63] Radloff, Aus Sibirien, I, 235.

[64] Aristov, Opyt vyiasneniia, 398-400.

[65] Radloff, op. cit., I, 235.

[66] Lowie, Primitive Society, 118.

616 and reflect a mode of organisation in the imperial past
619 of these peoples. But the principle of dual organization has a kinship referent in the sense that members of one wing regard themselves as more closely related to each other than to the other wing only insofar as the entire society is united by a common mythical genealogy, and hence by a common kinship bone.

An identical situation is found among the Kara-Kirgis, who are divided into two: the On (right) division, and the Sol (left) division. These two groupings are not equally numerous; the On or right is much greater than the Sol or left. They are variously organized internally; the On is further subdivided into six groupings,[67] the Sol into seven.

619 In the Great Horde we note that only one of the
631 two great divisions is in its turn dually organized.
171 The indigenous term for the Great Horde is the Ulu yüs or Great Hundred.[68] The concept of hundred in the Altaic steppe society relates to politico-military organisation. The armies of Chingis Khan were commanded by decurions, centurions, chiliarchs, and the Kalmuks through the 19th century had a series of sub-divisions imposed by the central Khanate into tens, forties, and

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[67] Radloff, op. cit., I, 230-231.

[68] Ibid., 235.

[Great Horde]
-389-

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171 hundreds (cf. chapter on Kalmuks).[1] However, in the case of the Kazakhs the concept Hundred has been extrapolated from its context as an administrative unit of the politico-military organization and has become a generalized term signifying a major social unit.

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642 Of the social structures in the Great Horde of the Kazakhs, only the clan and its composite units will be considered in the following; divisions of Kazakh society greater than the clan must be left aside. All of Kazakh society is bound together by a genealogical bond, and a system of united lines of real or assumed common descent. All Kazakhs have therefore an actual or fictive kinship with each other, in the paternal line. But while the hordes were composed by means of these structural principles, they also had a state structure of sorts, with rulers, courts, taxes, levies of troops, certain quasi-permanent coercive organizations, and so forth, even maintaining international relations. The Kazakh state structure, in a manner comparable to that of the Kalmuk or of a Khalkha Mongol principality, had features which magnified in size, but did not change in kind, patrilineal-agnatic features of the clan, the lineage, and the extended family. Other features of the Kazakh state, on the contrary, had little to do with consanguinity but were quite comparable to the foundations of any state, whether Oriental or western.

[1] [cf. cat. 116, AHI Mongolia, pp. 208ff. -- Analyst]

[Great Horde]

619 642 The structures larger than the clan must be set aside as of a different order than the smaller units.

619 642 178 The clan, too, can only be touched on briefly, because it faces two ways from a structural point of view. It is of moment to analyze it, albeit summarily, because it throws light on certain general features of consanguinity and affinity in the steppe society. But it was at the same time a social unit of a different order than the lineage, the village, or the family. By the 19th century, especially the latter part, it was moribund; it was rooted in the past, and was in a real sense the anvil upon which the structure of the state [565] was hammered. It was in fact a state in minuscule, with [567] a ruling stratum, the nobles, and subordinate strata, [795] the commoners and slaves. There was a religious cleavage in slave-making; within Islam, the Kazakhs were Sunnite in belief; they took slaves among the Shiite Moslems, Lamaist Kalmuks, and Christians.[69]

619 61 182 Certain structural principles which the clan shares with other Kazakh descent groups have been discussed above; among them are its corporate character, the

[69] Levchine, 330. While their religion was dominantly Islamic, specifically Sunnite, there were also important elements of Manichaeism and of shamanism among them. The latter doctrinary forces, however, corresponded to no pattern in their loyalties or enslavements. In general, Islam was a late and superficial feature of Kazakh religion and culture.

•649 61 182 principle of patrilineal descent, and the mode of inheritance which operates differentially, with certain rights of primogeniture, certain rights of ultimogeniture, and certain rights of equal inheritance. Other principles concern the clan alone, among them the genealogical charter which among other things was an expression of the myth of clan origin and also served to validate the membership of an individual in the clan. However, the lineage and the extended family participate in this principle of clan organization through the very architecture of the clan--its pyramidal form, to apply the imagery of Fortes and Evans-Pritchard. The clan was composed of differentially ranked lineages, and the lineages in turn of villages and of families, the highest rank being that of the line through the eldest sons.

619 565 The clan was divided into noble and common strata, which marks it off from the lineage, and other lesser units. These strata have been aptly characterized as estates by Kharuzin[70] and distinguished by the Kazakhs, as by all steppe peoples as different colored patrilineal descent lines called sŭök (literally, bone). These "bones" were the white or noble estate, and the black or common, and the principle whereby they were distinguished was identical with that of the Khalkha,

[70] Kharuzin, op. cit., col. 47.

619 the Kalmuk, and other nomadic peoples of the Asiatic
565 steppe.

The Great Horde preserved this division by estates within the clan for several decades after the Russian. The Khan (i.e., the ruler of a clan confederation) and his kinsmen, according to Radlov, occupied a special position, forming a nobility. The nobles were called ak sŏk, the white bone, and the commoners kara sŏk, the black bone.[71] Grodekov, writing of the Kazakhs of the Great Horde during the same period, adds further details: the Kazakh nobles or white "bone" did not belong to one horde, nor to any one clan; they were not divided by lineages; they were essentially the descendants of Khans who ruled in the steppe: they formed a clan or series of clans by themselves; the nobility were those whose maternal line as well as paternal line were of the white "bone."[72] The estates were endogamous until the Russian conquest.

565 If this were the entire picture, there would be no problem; however, a certain difficulty has been touched on by Dingelstedt, a young aide on General Grodekov's staff in Turkestan. On social distinctions Dingelstedt writes, the Kazakhs have no classes; they all recognize each other as noble in origin. Their aristocratic price is great, because each must know the names of his ancestors;

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[71] Radloff, Aus Sibirien, I, 515.

[72] Grodekov, 4-5.

565 but they admit of certain distinctions: the right of priority, the right to this or that cut of meat served at feasts. To this end there are the two great divisions of the people, the white and black "bones." The white bones are the descendants of Chingis Khan and of certain other great Khans, and also of the disciples of Mohammed, who bear the name of Saïd or Khodji. So far Dingelstedt.[73] Now, the white bones are not actually incorporated members of a given clan, and are in this respect different from the Khalkha Mongols, whose white bone are of two sorts, those who are members of their clan as nobility and leaders, and those who are of princely rank, above the ordinary aristocracy, and trace descent in the direct line from Chingis Khan. The Kazakh nobles are similar only to the latter class of Khalkha nobles.

611 619 565 But even removing the white "bone" into a descent line of their own[1] does not solve the problem of reconciling two apparently contradictory principles of social structure: one, the common line of descent of all Kazakhs from one ancestor (Dingelstedt's "noble origin"); and two, the division into bones. Specifically, at what point did the unifying principle become divided? To resolve this problem, reference can only be made to the composite nature of Kazakh society and Turko-Mongol society generally, namely, to the principle of consanguinity

[73] Dingelstedt, 146.

1 [Cf. Cat. #6, AH1 Mongolia, pp. 400-403.--Analyst]

611 through the paternal line which unites each of these
619 societies, and to the existence of a kind of state which
565 is composed of ruling and ruled strata. And finally, it has been already suggested that the clan itself functions in part as a clan, and in part exemplifies certain quasi-state features. Insofar as the clan performs functions according to principles of the kinship system, it is relevant to our consideration; but the complications of a state-like character remove it to that extent from our consideration.[74]

619 The Kazakh clan, in the Great Horde as elsewhere, had other bonds than the genealogical tie, and other functions than the politico-military. Where a line died out without issue, the property passed to the clan.[75] Presumably the property was administered by the clan elders. The clan had a system of identifiable signs, such as earmarks in common, whereby the members distinguished their livestock from those of other clans. These earmarks, called tamga, were not a sign of clan property, but a sign of the clan affiliation by the owners of the stock.[76]

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[74] Izraztsov, 26. He writes that the clan was a political unit, a unit of military defense, which declined after Russian pacification. Smaller units remained after the clan declined, held together by common interests. In addition to external causes, the clan system had been weakened by intestine wars.

[75] Izraztsov, 27.

[76] Kharuzin, Bukeev Orda, col. 148. Cf. Radloff, Aus Sibirien, I, 455-456; and Aristov, Opyt Vyiasneniia, 412-416, for reproductions of the clan earmarks for the Great Horde, and for the Kazakhs generally.

619 [726] Again, each clan had a war cry, or uran, whereby it identified itself in battle, at great gatherings, and so forth. Such an uran was the name of the clan ancestor, and thus evoked the glory of the clan, intensifying the feeling of membership in the tradition of him who raised the cry.[77] The relation of the clan to principles of exogamy will be discussed below in a more general treatment of the rules of marriage.

613 The lineage in the Great Horde, as elsewhere among the Kazakhs, is a corporate structure, but does not fulfill the criteria for the corporation[1/1] as closely as do the clan or the extended family. Thus, it lacks the firm locus of authority possessed by other social units of an analogical corporate type; moreover, its "charter" is derivative of the clan charter--the genealogy. Nevertheless, it was during the 19th century a more active social unit than the clan, since the latter was moribund, and it entered more intimately into the every-day life of the Kazakhs. The lineage was a unit of varying scope, by which is meant two things: first, the actual composition in living members; second, the number of generations

[77] Izraztsov, 27. Cf. Balliuzek, 164: "For the distinction of each of his friends under attack by foreign clans, to give him courage in attacking the enemy,... to invoke aid...there is a special signal called uran and consisting of the names of the clan ancestor or of later distinguished ancestors...." The English "hurrah!" is a derivation of the term uran.

1/1 [cf. cat. 116, AHI Mongolia, p. 389, for these criteria--Analyst]

[Great Horde]

595 Despite the frequent occurrence in these rules of plural wives, the Kazakh household was normally monogamous; polygyny was practised only when a man was rich enough to afford it, or if the first wife was childless, specifically, without sons, which was reckoned the greatest misfortune to a household.[124] While in Grodekov's version of the rules, the practice of the levirate was possible on widowhood, the custom is put more strongly by Radlov who proposes that its occurrence was virtually automatic on the death of the husband.[125]

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When the rich Kazakh acquired many wives, he set them up in separate tents, usually in different encampments, and spent part of the year in each locality, hoping thus, apparently, to avoid trouble. If the wives lived in the same encampment, it was the eldest wife who alone was the mistress of the combined households, and the younger wife was in a miserable position. Nevertheless, in terms of the general context of Islam, polygyny was rare.[126]

619 While there were yet Kalmuks in the vicinity of 58 the Kazakhs, at the beginning of the century, there were not a few intermarriages between the two groups. The Kazakh did not oblige the Kalmuk wife to change her

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[124] Radloff, op. cit., I, 484; Izrastsov, 70.

[125] Radloff, op. cit., I, 484-5.

[126] Ibid., 484.

[Great Horde]

•49 58 lamaist faith for Islam. But where a marriage took place between the two groups, the same rules obtained, covering the taboo on sororal polygyny, etc., as among the Kazakhs [587] themselves. At that earlier time, the 1830's, on the death of a man, the brother who survived him had the right to marry one of the wives of the deceased.[127] In these earlier rules, or version of the same rules, the levirate was not automatic, but optional, a formulation which is stronger than Grodekov, but weaker than Radlov.

583 The marriage arrangements were centered around the payment of the kalym or bridewealth by the family of the groom to the father of the bride. The payment of the bridewealth is the one irrecusable obligation of the father to the son; the son cannot be deprived of this, even with the worst of wills on the part of the father. It is the family of the groom which contributes to the kalym, moreover, and not merely the father. In a word, it is the groom's cognatic kin, and not his agnatic kin alone, who support him in this burden: his father, his brothers, his father's brothers--his agnatic kinsmen--and also his mother's brother.

The marriage arrangements were opened by an exchange of pact-binding gifts between representatives of the groom and those of the bride, followed by a discussion

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[127] Levchine, op. cit., 364.

[Middle -157- Horde]

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●619 Unlike the Great Horde, the Middle Horde had no
[616] trace of any dual organization in its major divisions. Instead, it was divided directly into six clan federations: the Argyn, the Kipchak, the Kongrad, the Naiman, the Kirei, and the Uwak.[167] That these federations bore distinctive names is of interest, that these names are archaic is even more so. Four of these names have a great historical tradition, occurring both in the ancient Turkic records and in the Secret History of the Mongols; these are: the Kipchak, the Kongrad, the Naiman and the Kirei or Kereit. Another tie with the Mongol steppe, the historical scene of both Orkhon texts and the Secret History, is in the name Argyn; there is an Argun River in northwestern Manchuria, forming the border with Siberia.

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[77] The Middle Horde Kazakhs of the 1820's had not yet come under Russian cultural influence to any significant extent. Yet even at this time, the practice of polygyny was restricted to the wealthy families: a rich Kazakh might have from three to five wives, while a poor Kazakh had but one. Infant betrothal was practiced, while marriage took place at age twenty at the latest. On marriage the father outfitted the son with one or more tents, livestock, clothing, felts, according to his means; for then the son became of age. But the relationship was a

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[167] Valikhanov, 162; Aristov, Zametki, 350. Radloff, Aus Sibirien, I, 326, mentions only five of these federations, omitting the Uwak.

101 the Great Horde; and it was further along in the process
177 of acculturation than the Great Horde. A Middle Horde Kazakh could adopt a "Russian" point of view and have the public opinion of his community support him in it a full generation anterior to even a remote envisagement of such a situation in the Great Horde. However, no significant difference in small-scale social structure, whether in the corporate entities or in the kinship relationships, can be detected.

000 Note: Appended to this chapter is material gathered on the Kazakhs of the Middle Horde during the period of the First World War and the 1920's. It is separated from the body of the Kazakh materials since it represents an era removed from the preceding one by a war and a revolution.

The Little Horde: Clan and Lineage

101 The Little Horde, Kazakh kĭy yŭz, literally Little Hundred, occupied the steppe between the Middle Horde and European Russia, stretching from the area north of the Aral Sea to the Ural River. The steppe between the Ural River and the Volga was in turn occupied by an offshoot of the Little Horde, the Bukei, or Inner Horde
631 during the 19th century. In the structure of the Little
616 Horde, certain marks of a dual organization are to be
619 observed: it consisted of two major divisions, the Alchyn and the Djăttï-uri. The Djăttï-uri in turn were sub-

[Little Horde]

631 616 619 divided into seven clans. The foregoing is the version given by Radlov.[172] Aristov, on the other hand, reports simply the existence of ten clans in the Little Horde, and mentions no more inclusive groupings than these. One of his groups is named the Alchin, however.[173] Radlov further indicates that according to his data, the Alchyn were further subdivided into two sub-divisions, the Alim-uli and the Bai-uli, the Alim-uli again into six sub-units, and the Bai-uli into ten. A part of the Bai-uli broke away from the Little Horde, moved across the Ural River through an agreement between their leader Bukei and the Russians, and occupied the steppe between the Ural and the Volga which had formerly been the pasture land of the Kalmuks.[174]

611 619 The elucidation of the functions of these greater divisions of Kazakh society, the horde and its principal segments, are mentioned briefly in this context merely to indicate that the web which tied them together was a common patrilineal descent, traced back to immemorial time by oral tradition to a mythical ancestor. Eventually all Kazakhs are agnatically related in this manner.

161 The combined Little and Inner Hordes numbered about 190,000 families according to various estimates between

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[172] Radloff, op. cit., 237-241.

[173] Aristov, op. cit., 350.

[174] Radloff, op. cit., 237.

1 [Cf. cat. 619, p. 462 — Analyst]

[Inner Horde]

619 565 Khan Bukei[1] was of the highest nobility in the Little Horde: Chingis Khan figured in his genealogy; and his more immediate ancestor some three or four generations back had been Abul-Hafr, the last great Khan whose fame was recognised by all the hordes of the Kazakhs. However, Bukei was not in the direct senior line from Abul-Hafr, and hence was not among the chief rulers of the Little Horde.

161 He and his followers, who were changed in status from a clan some 1500 families strong, to a horde with its independent Khan, increased naturally, through Russian support and the attraction of in-migrants to some 8000 families in five years, lost some groups through defections in the 1820's,[227] but increased steadily until by 1845 they had come to number 30,000 families,[228] which was the same number they had forty years later, 619 in the 1880's. The demographic history of the Inner 167 Horde reveals much of the instability of all social formations, clans, lineages, hordes, villages, and even extended families. Migration--as opposed to nomadisation--brought about ever new conjunctions and combinations. Clans, villages, etc., had to survive not only the mortal span of their individual members, but the shifting of loyalties and membership affiliations as well.

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[227] Levshine, 300.

[228] Ivanin, 6.

[1] [i.e. the leader of the Inner Horde in the early 19th century. Cf. Cat. 116, AHI Mongolia, p. 491--Analyst]

[Inner Horde]

601 Khan Bukei was related to all the other members
525 of his clan and horde through real or assumed descent
619 from a common ancestor. But Bukei was at the same time
162 a descendant of Chingis Khan directly, and a descendant of a junior line of Abul-Haïr. His horde because of its recent formation,[1] small size, and relative instability, retained many features of clan structure which it had until recently possessed. It was divided into two estates: the white bone and the black. As to the white bone, ak sŭŏk, we have somewhat more detailed data as to its composition than for the other hordes. It had three components in the Inner Horde, according to data gathered in 1849-1850, in addition to the direct senior descendants of the Khan himself; these were descendants of Khan Bukei in the junior line, clan leaders, and aristocrats without duties, all of whom totalled to about 200 ak sŭŏk, 85 percent falling in the last category, those without duties, i.e., junior aristocratic lines,[229] exclusive of Khan Bukei's cadet line, who formed a separate noble category.

613 Among the lineage names of this time, familiar
162 ones appear, such as the lineage of Adai, homonymous with the one visited by Karutz on the Mangyshlak peninsula about fifty years later. These lineages ranged in number of families from 120 to 5000; and counting the

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[229] Ibid., 11.

[1] [i.e. in 1800; cf. Cat. 116, AHl Mongolia, p. 491 -- Analyst]

[Inner Horde]

614 Another principle of social structure is illus-
●619 trated in Kharuzin's account of the Bukei Horde, that
601 of differential succession. The entire Bukei Horde reckoned descent from one of three brothers; the eldest line was the Alim-uli, the two junior lines were the Bai-uli and the descent line of the Seven Clans--Semirod, eponymous ancestor not given. The Alim-uli descent line was represented on the Bukei steppe by only one clan (or lineage), the Kita, who are mentioned as one of the lineages by Ivanov about twenty-five years previously. According to Radlov's account of the Little Horde, the Alchin, a major division of the Little Horde, were subdivided into the Alim-uli and the Bai-uli, and it was the Bai-uli who contributed most of the members to the formation of the Inner Horde. This conforms with Kharuzin, who found only one Alim-uli clan among them. But Radlov nowhere mentions a third genealogy, and this creates a conflict, because Radlov's analysis is a systematic case of dual organization.[239] With Radlov, Kharuzin agrees that the majority of the Inner Horde was composed of members of the Bai-uli. The only expression of the superiority based on primogeniture of the Kita members of the Alim-uli descent line was their preferential treatment at feasts and marriages,

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[239] Radloff, Aus Sibirien, I, 237-241.

614 where part of the gifts were made over to the chief of
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601 the Alim-uli. The reasons given by Kharuzin for clan
[177.61] decline generally, as part of the acculturation picture, 1/A
are: administrative changes imposed by the Russians, the
growth of sedentary agriculture, and the consequent loss
of nomadic pastoralism.[240]

613 The lineage was the exogamic unit in the 1880's,
561 and leadership of the lineage passed to the eldest son.
However, it might rest temporarily with the first or
senior wife until the eldest son came of age; here again
seniority was operative, among the wives as well as among
the sons.[241] There is regrettably no indication of the
number of generations in establishing an exogamic unit
among the Kazakhs of the Inner Horde.

565 The standard composition of the noble estate is:
the ak sŭŏk descended from Chingis Khan, and the Islamic
leaders among the Kazakhs, called Khodja. They were
[177. formerly free from tax and tribute, but with the advent
56] of the Russians were so no longer. However, they were
not subject to the judgments of the biis, and hence had
a kind of legal immunity. The other component of the
white bone was the Khodja, i.e., Kazakhs who, by a gene-
alogical fiction, traced their descent from Mohammed.[242]

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[240] Kharuzin, op. cit., cols. 45-47.

[241] Ibid., 110.

[242] Ibid., 47-52.

1/A [cf. cat. 11b, AHI Mongolia, p. 496 ff. -- Analyst]

101 (2) why they are separated from the text proper. As
127 to why the Soviet era data are added, it may be said
177 at once that they are marginally Soviet: they were gathered in the 1920's, and from an outlying province where the impact of Soviet acculturation had barely begun; and again, fully recognising the acculturated life of these people, certain factors have remained constant, "recognisable," from the past, and the data regarding them supplement descriptions of the previous era, fill in old gaps. The resultant picture has historical significance, it tells what happened later; it has comparative significance, it permits the confrontation of Kazakh data with other data, such as the Kalmuk. But the post-revolutionary report is separated from the pre-revolutionary data because of the great changes in the life of the component peoples of the Russian empire.

Clan and Lineage

167 The Kazakhs of the Naiman division are sometimes
101 called a tribe. Adequately detailed genealogical data
175 afford a considerable amount of insight into the struc-
●619 ture of the Kazakh clan and lineage. We are faced with a distinction which has been encountered several times in the course of the present study: the distinction between "objective" history and history as mythopoeia. As to the first, Margulanov tells us that these Naiman, in branching off (ramifying, as Firth has put it) from

167 the Naiman corpus, migrated from Turkestan to the Altai
101 region in the period 1750-1770. At this time they at-
175 tacked the Dzungarian or Western Mongols and occupied
619 their present territory.[257] Moving somewhat southward,
to the valley of the Chu River, a portion of these Naiman have been moving back and forth across the Russo-Chinese border; they may have been nomadizing in the valley of the Chu River before 1870, but between about 1870 and 1900 they were in Chinese Turkestan; by 1900 they migrated north and west to the pasture lands where they were reported in 1927 by Samoilovich.[258]

The above data are objective in the sense that they may conceivably be verified; possibly the Dzungarian traditions will report a war over the pasturages in the western portions of the Altai Mountains; possibly Chinese administrative records will show a movement across the borders during the last third of the 19th century; or Russian documents will support this account put together from Margulanov, Samoilovich, Shvetsov and Tynyshpaev. This little historical excursus may be verified, or it may be corrected as to this or that detail; but in any case we indeed have a record which is in every way the stuff that historians deal with. Above all, it is subject to verification, its veracity and credibility may be demonstrated OR disproved.

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[257] Margulanov, 330.

[258] Samoilovich, 303.

000 be demonstrated or disproved.

173 619 The point is that a record of this sort is entirely different from the traditions of the Naiman themselves. The Middle Horde Kazakhs of the Altai assert that the common ancestor of all Naiman was he who gave his name to the Naiman race. He had three sons, one of whom was an adopted son; nevertheless the claim of the adopted son's line to descent from the eponymous ancestor was not impaired by the fact of adoption. The genealogy collected by Margulanov follows:[259]

	Naiman			I
Ukresh	Rokban	Klata (adopted)		II
Telegetai	Sagurshi	Kelbuga	Kentuga	III
				IV

Naiman's great-grandsons, in the generation of Karagerei, are regarded as the founders of eponymous clans, of which only the seven descended from the sons of Ukresh are represented in the Altai region. It may be that adoption is imputed to the Klata line of the Shirsheit clan because they are not found in the Altai, because they are removed in space, hence only distantly kin; and the imputation of adoption may be the genealogical

[259] Margulanov, appended genealogies.

1 A [Ch. cd. 175, pp. 524-525 -- Analyst]

173 expression of the distance in space and in kinship among
619 the various groups. This need not have been the case, but the asseveration would inevitably come to mean what the genealogist has put into it; and it is this ultimate meaning which becomes the symbolic representation of the relationship between the line of Kiata and that of Ukresh, viewed from the standpoint of the latter. This is mythical history, not subject to verification.

601 From the generation of Ergenekti to the time the
614 genealogy was collected in the 1920's, fourteen generations (twice seven) were reckoned, and this genealogy was the charter of membership, of incorporation in the analogical sense advanced here, of the Ergenekti clan, the eldest of the Sugurshi[1] line. No particular functions are ascribed by the ethnographers to this structure, and we must look among the component lineages (patrilineage - "bone" - sŏk) for these. Among those Naiman who had moved to the valley of the Chu,[1] a variation on the above genealogy was recorded in the 1920's. In this genealogy, that of another lineage of the Ergenekti clan, fourteen generations were reckoned likewise, but not from the clan ancestor, rather from the eponymous ancestor of all the Naiman:[260]

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[260] Samoilovich, 306.

[1] [Cf. cat. 116, AHI Mongolia, M.524-526--Analyst]